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Genscher keen on closer ties with SE Asia

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Holding a South-East Asian arts festival in this country was by no means a bad idea. South-East Asia is still largely a blank space on the map as far as most people in this country are concerned.

Yet the Asean region, consisting of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, is undoubtedly gaining in importance.

The Communists victory in Indo-China and the US withdrawal from mainland Asia served to underline the increasing importance of the five Asean countries with their abundant commodity reserves and a combined population of 230 million, which is roughly the same as that of Western Europe.

The festival was held as part of the celebrations to mark the five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Tübingen University. This too proved a convenient opportunity of holding specialist talks and discussions on both scientific and artistic subjects.

The Tübingen festival nevertheless left one with a somewhat uneasy feeling. Relations between South-East Asia and Western Europe are, when all is said and done, very much political in nature.

The festival concentrated on the arts, on folklore, research and tourism, but political aspects could hardly be circumvented.

The gala reception at Schloss Bebenhausen hosted by Baden-Württemberg Premier Hans Filbinger will not be forgotten in a hurry by anyone who attended, but memories would have been very much more deep-seated if only the reception had marked the culmination of a week of talks between specialists from South-East Asia and this country including political problems high up on the agenda rather than in passing, as it were.

As it was, many participants must be wondering whether the effort and expense were really worthwhile.

Even so, the festival certainly got off to a promising start. The inaugural ceremony was attended by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Indonesian counterpart, Adam Malik, one of the masterminds behind Asean.

Herr Genscher delivered a programmatic speech outlining this country's policy towards Asia. The high esteem in which Bonn holds Asia, he said, is attributable to the fact that Asia represents a concentration of independent centres of power.

First and foremost, he noted, there is China, which "is already a crucial factor in world affairs and has a vital role to play in keeping world peace."

Then, too, there is Japan, "which as one of the world's major industrial powers has a special responsibility for helping to maintain international economic stability, growth and development."

India, he continued, "is not only the most populous country in the world after China but also in a special position among developing countries by virtue of its advanced capital goods industry."

Last but not least there were five Asean countries, "a region extremely rich in natural resources and in the throes of rapid expansion."

What is more, Herr Genscher pointed out, the two superpowers also have special ties with Asia. "The Soviet Union is both a European and an Asian power, while the United States as a Pacific power retains a permanent interest in Asia."

Relations between this country and the Asean nations, the Foreign Minister felt, ought to be governed by the principles of equality and balanced interests, both in the political and economic sectors.



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher welcoming the Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik in Bonn on 1 September (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

Third World countries, which include Asean, must be allowed their full share of technological development, Herr Genscher explained, with industrialised countries granting the developing world readier access to their domestic markets for semi-finished and manufactured goods.

Above all, the industrialised countries must show willing to undertake structural changes, which are in any case in the general interest, although in the short term strcutural adjustments can prove a painful process.

"At present, with unemployment high, and frequently structural in character, in the West, this process of adjustment is proving particularly difficult," Herr Genscher recalled.

This, he continued, explains why pressure to introduce protectionist measures is greater today than it has been at any time over the past thirty years.

"In the circumstances we must be sure to remain true to the principle of free trade, a principle to which world trade has owed its unprecedented growth since the end of the Second World War."

Thirdly, the Foreign Minister mentioned the growing force the Asean countries are coming to represent in world affairs. They are, he said, "already a substantial factor in the balance of power and stability in Asia."

The Association of South-East Nations has set itself the task of "keeping the peace in the region as a whole by building bridges to understanding and cooperation that transcend ideological frontiers."

This means, first and foremost, cooperation with Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Herr Genscher touched on a particularly sensitive issue in referring to the great importance of diplomatic rapprochement and growing cooperation between China and the Asean countries.

It was doubtless no coincidence that Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, the next speaker, dealt almost exclusively with economic progress within Asean and made no mention whatsoever of China.

Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines have enjoyed diplomatic relations with China for some time, but Indonesia and Singapore are still reluctant to establish diplomatic ties with Peking.

Lee Kuan Yew, the Singapore Prime Minister, has stated on more than one occasion that he will not be establishing ties with Peking until Indonesia has done so.

Only recently Mr Malik reckoned that relations between Indonesia and China, which were frozen in 1965, could only be reactivated once the Chinese Communists stopped supporting subversion in South-East Asia.

But the new leaders in Peking are persevering with the ambiguous policies pursued in Mao's days. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng received Jussuf Adjitorop, a member of the politbureau of the Indonesian Communist Party, in May.

No details of what they discussed were released but the Indonesian go-

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New Schmidt proposal for MBFR talks

For the simples of reasons the Vienna troop cut talks have so far failed to achieve results. The West is determined to bring about a reduction in the current conventional supremacy of the East, whereas Moscow has no intention of forgoing the Warsaw Pact's manpower advantage.

Chancellor Schmidt now proposes to overcome this discrepancy by means of a negotiation stratagem. His proposal, which already enjoys President Carter's backing, entails East bloc troop cuts which combine both Moscow's desire for percentage force reductions and the West's call for paritative and collective ceilings.

Estimates have shown that this is feasible, but will Moscow agree? Experience has shown that scepticism is warranted. At present the MBFR talks have ground to a halt because the Soviet Union claims the West's demand for troop strength parity has already been met.

This, of course, is not true, and the discrepancy must be settled before any further action can be taken on Herr Schmidt's proposals. If progress fails to materialise there will be a risk of impatient Social Democrats in this country calling with even greater urgency for unilateral Western concessions.

(Die Welt, 1 September 1977)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bonn must make a clear distinction in its attitude to the Palestinians

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Prior to the fighting in Lebanon the Palestinian refugee camp at Debeiyyeh was one of the smallest in the country, but like the others it was fortified and served as a terrorist training camp.

During the civil war Debeiyyeh was initially a Palestinian base, then taken over by Christian militiamen. Since the fighting ended it has been deserted.

Debeiyyeh's continued claim to fame is Saudi Prince Faisal ben Musaid, the nephew and assassin of King Faisal, who was trained as a terrorist by Palestinian instructors there.

Prince Faisal shot the King in his Riyadh palace on 25 March 1975. King Khaled, his successor, has yet to reveal full details of the assassination.

A Riyadh court ruled that Faisal ben Musaid was not out of his mind at the time. The prince was sentenced to death and executed. That is about all we know for sure.

The Soviet — and Palestinian — version of events is that King Faisal was murdered at the instigation of the CIA. Less sophisticated Middle Eastern opinion may be prepared to swallow this line.

Many Arabs nonetheless know that Prince Faisal ben Mussaid was trained by Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon and are conviced that Al Fatah leader Salah Chalaf was the man behind the assassination.

Is the Saudi royal family afraid of Al Fatah assassination squads? It nor only kept quiet about the assassination of King Faisal, but has also continued to underwrite the Palestinian partisans with substantial sums of money.

Maybe this is merely a tactical stratagem. The Saudi royal family knows well enough that Al Fatah has Soviet backing and remains extremely popular with the general public in many Arab cities.

Were the Saudi rulers to declare outright war on Al Fatah they would run the risk of political setbacks that could even culminate in the fall of the monarchy. So it seems to be a case of "kiss the hand you cannot crush," to quote an old Arab proverb.

But there is no reason why the West should follow suit. King Khaled, a sick man, may have felt it opportune to keep quiet about the background to his brother's assassination, but why has nothing been said in public in other Arab States or in the West?

Silence about the ties between Prince Faisal ben Musaid and Al Fatah is a yardstick of the anxiety that predominates in the Middle East.

In the Middle Ages an Islamic brotherhood known as the Assassins terrorised powerful Moslem empires. Al Fatah today has succeeded in imposing silence not only on the Saudi government, which has financial reserves totalling at least $50,000 million, but also on other Arab States and even well-informed Western observers of the Arab world.

Arabs are reluctant to mention Prince Faisal's training in Palestinian refugee camps in the vicinity of Beirut. The writer recently held a lengthy conversation about Saudi Arabia with an Arab acquaintance of long standing.

"So you know about the link between Faisal ben Musaid and the Palestinians, do you?" the Arab acquaintance eventually asked, with a note of distinct anxiety in his voice.

A number of Western diplomats in the Middle East are blithely unaware of the methods the Palestinian leaders use to gain their political ends.

This seems to apply in particular to powerful, outspoken individuals who will not take kindly, if at all, to attempts at blackmail, or so the Palestinians feel.

Local staff at Western embassies in the region, on the other hand, are almost invariably subjected to heavy pressure and frequently unable to resist terrorist demands.

This country's diplomats, when questioned about the activities of Palestinian agents, usually console themselves with the thought that "the locals have no access to our confidential files."

They often fail to appreciate that the contents of these files for the most part merely summarise talks and encounters that take place within sight and earshot of their local staff.

Palestinian agents exert greatest pressure on Western embassies in what used to be Palestinian-controlled West Beirut.

On 16 June 1976, at the height of the fighting in Lebanon, US ambassador Francis E. Meloy and two aides were shot in West Beirut. The PLO issued a communiqué denying responsibility, but subsequent investigations confirmed that Palestinian partisans were to blame.

A few weeks later the US authorities responded to the assassination by requesting Palestinian cooperation in the evacuation of American civilians from Beirut.

Officially the Bonn government has no dealings with the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It may not recognise the PLO, but it would be misleading to suggest that this country has no ties whatsoever with the Al Fatah guerrillas.

Ambassadors in the Middle East may be instructed not to have dealings with PLO leaders, but senior officials at a number of Bonn's Middle East embassies have been entrusted with the task of maintaining confidential contacts with Palestinian organisations.

In Beirut Paul von Maltzahn, who was later posted to Paris, was the PLO contact for several years. He soon enjoyed the PLO's full confidence and as chargé d'affaires included PLO views on the fighting in his reports to the Bonn Foreign Office.

Other Foreign Office diplomats were more discreet in their dealings with the Palestinians, but the confidential diplomacy inaugurated by Foreign Minister Genscher soon led to a strange symbiosis of Palestinian terrorists and Bonn diplomats which inevitably influenced embassy reports from the Middle East on the Palestinian issue.

It was not long before the Foreign Office saw nothing unusual in employing a Palestinian who lives in Bonn as the interpreter in confidential talks between the Foreign Minister and visiting Arab politicians.

Shortly after the assassination of King Faisal Herr Genscher flew to Riyadh, taking with him his Palestinian interpreter. It is hardly surprising that in the circumstances the Saudi Arabian leaders were unwilling to divulge detailed information about the murder.

Hans Dietrich Genscher, initially agreed to stand hostage instead of Israeli athletes held by Palestinian commandos at the Olympic Village, Munich, in 1972 according to a former Israeli Ambassador to Bonn, Eliashir Ben Horin.

He later withdrew this offer, evidently feeling the risk was more than he was prepared to take.

Herr Genscher can hardly be blamed for changing his mind on this point, but why does he still instruct diplomats to maintain contacts with Palestinian terrorists?

The hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who still languish in makeshift camps deserve sympathy from international public opinion.

But the civilised world ought not ever to consider partnership of any kind with the current PLO leaders who pursue their political objectives by means of taking hostages, hijacking aircraft and murdering innocent individuals.

The poor Palestinians are certainly not solely to blame for their misfortune, as the Bonn Foreign Office rightly points out. But in recent years the Palestinian guerrilla leaders have had a great deal to answer for.

So where Palestine is concerned the Bonn government ought to make a clearer distinction than the Foreign Office has been doing of late between the innocent victims of world affairs — the Palestinian refugees — and the criminal current leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. *Harald Vocke*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 August 1977)

Bonn commissions poll abroad to gauge its public image

The Bonn government has commissioned opinion polls to assess views on this country held by the general public in a number of foreign countries. Results are due later this year.

Market research is being conducted in the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Greece. The survey has been envisaged for some time, but comes, as it happens, at a particularly appropriate juncture.

The polls more or less coincide with a fresh wave of negative publicity about this country in connection with the abduction of a former SS officer from an Italian gaol.

The response to the abduction of Herbert Kappler must not be viewed on its own, Bonn feels. It forms part, "and possibly the climax, of years of anti-German sentiment voiced in left-wing and liberal newspapers abroad and even in conservative periodicals."

Criticism is levelled at alleged police-state methods in dealing with terrorism, at alleged intolerance in connection with the ban on public service employment of political extremists and at alleged Nazi nostalgia in connection with the public interest shown in a new film about Hitler.

"We take justified criticism from abroad seriously," Bonn claims. But the Federal government grins and bears the brunt of ill-founded or vicious polemics. Bonn endeavours to break down prejudice by means of a patient and continual flow of information.

Government officials in Bonn also note that alarmed though they may be about current criticism they feel obliged to point out that the view of this country as seen from abroad has steadily improved as a result of the policies pursued by successive Federal governments over a period of decades.

This country's standing abroad has, moreover, increased to an extent undreamt-of in the immediate post-war years — a trend to which opinion polls and commentaries in the world's most prestigious and influential newspapers testify.

Political extremism at either end of the spectrum is insignificant as a political force in the Federal Republic of Germany, observers emphasise. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 August 1977)

Ties with SE Asia

Continued from page 1

vernment has its doubts whether Chinese intentions are altogether honourable.

Shortly before the reception the Peking *People's Daily* published an article by the leader of the Indonesian Communist Party in which armed struggle and the formation of a united front were stated to be the party's main objectives.

This is but one example of a number of differences in viewpoint between Bonn and the Asean governments. It only goes to show how badly needed frank speaking at an appropriate level is on subjects where views differ.

Statements of principle alone are not enough. If understanding is to be fostered with a view to closer cooperation, specific issues and differences of opinion must not be regarded as taboo.

Harry Hamm

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 September 1977)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Parties must do more to win back the people's confidence



There is obviously an increasing number of citizens in this country who no longer have very great confidence in our political parties. They do not, however, want to join left or right-wing groups; they want something completely different.

They would be in favour of a party such as the one Mogens Gilstrup founded in Denmark with his anti-tax campaign — in other words, a protest party.

According to Mannheim public opinion researcher Wildenmann, 25 per cent of this country's citizens would welcome such a party. Our major democratic parties ought to take these feelings as a serious warning, especially in times of critical and unsolved problems such as unemployment, nuclear energy and education.

It can be pointed out that citizens are more ready to reject the major parties between elections, but when it comes to the election itself they will put their cross against the SPD, the CDU or the FDP.

This is certainly true. But the parties would merely be deceiving themselves if they thought it was as simple as that.

Even without these polls, it is obvious to anyone who has observed the political scene in this country over the past months and years that there is increasing dissatisfaction with the parties. One is continually hearing remarks which indicate a lack of trust and confidence in the parties.

The high turnout at the last parliamentary and state elections would, at first glance, appear to refute this, plus the fact that a large number of people put in a lot of work for "their" parties during the elections.

But there is no guarantee that this will be repeated. It is difficult to imagine that electoral strategists will once again succeed in presenting the neck-and-neck race between the parties as an out-and out struggle for all or nothing, war or peace, democracy or dictatorship, freedom or socialism.

In the day to day work of the government and parliament, political contours become blurred and entanged among competing interests and legislative bureaucracy.

The differences between the parties are no longer so great when it comes down to details. Faced with difficult problems such as unemployment, the sad state of the educational system or the question of nuclear energy, the predominant attitude of the parties is one of perplexity.

The political scientist and former liberal politician Ralf Dahrendorf, thinks that a conflict is being staged, for the benefit of the people, which does not really exist. The oft-quoted polarisation is an invention of civil servants.

The citizens of the country are more or less agreed about the basic principles and they want to see their interests represented. Wildenmann attacks the parties for confusing political competition with destructive inter-party competition.

The antagonisms between the parties in state parliaments and in the Bundestag meant that constructive, sober arguments were submerged under all the hostility.

It is indeed very likely that citizens' growing dissatisfaction with the parties can to a large extent be attributed to the fact that they do not feel that their interests are being represented. This has been abundantly clear since the citizens' action groups have got going.

Parties operate less and less as the link between the citizens and the parliament and government. They are closely bound up with the state and powerful interest groups.

The leading representatives in the various parliaments tend, more and more, to come from the state service or the associations.

This interconnection between the state and the parties leads to immobility. There is a danger that politics merely becomes a matter of administration.

This is not helped by the fact that politicians are completely immersed in their jobs, have limited horizons, limited room to move and are narrow in their interests.

Small wonder that the citizen feels left out of things and starts looking for ways of expressing his opinions and demands outside the framework of the major political parties.

Protest parties are certainly no solution, as the Danish example has shown. But they do tell the established parties loud and clear that they cannot move too far away from the citizens.

Citizens' action groups are only a short-term solution, although they have caused the parties a certain amount of embarrassment.

There is no substitute for the parties in our system of governement. That is why it is essential that they should break out of their one-sided orientation towards the state and the main interest groups and show more interest in what the citizen thinks and feels.

If they cannot do this, then not only they, but our whole political way of life will suffer. *Karsten Plog*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 September 1977)

Opposition attacks government research policy

The Opposition has put its finger on a sore spot. It is certainly true to say that financial aid for research projects went mainly on schemes which promised major technological breakthroughs.

There has been too great a tendency in the past and in the present to claim that improved machinery necessarily meant that we were on our way into a brave new world.

Developments on the labour market prove that this view of a rosy, trouble-free future is questionable to say the least. The present discussions shows that many people are beginning to have their doubts.

Of course it is always much easier for the Opposition to pontificate about the steps that have to be taken.

The Union claims that there would be 400,000 more jobs if the government changed the orientation of its research programmes. But the Union does not go into any further details.

This is simply making things far too easy for oneself, and it is not good enough. One expects better from a leading political party.

When one listens to the CDU *Mittelstandsvereinigung* (Small and Medium Sized Business Association), one cannot help suspecting that all they really want is more money for smaller businesses.

The criticism of Research and Technology Minister Hans Matthöfer that he shows too much favour towards major companies is valid if one simply looks at the figures. The question is: can small firms carry out the kind of research that the state expects?

As already stated, this is certainly a sore point in Bonn. The Opposition, however, ought to take its function as controller and, if necessary, accuser, more seriously.

It is justified in this case in attacking the government, but it also has to name the alternatives. The fact that it has so far avoided doing so, reduces the credibility of their demand for a change in government policy.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 August 1977)

Job of governing has become a tedious routine

The days when governments could take decisions quickly and put them into effect without many objections being raised are over.

The years of rapid growth which simply swept away many of the problems are also past. It must be particularly hard for Helmut Schmidt, this country's fifth Chancellor and a man with a reputation for being a "dynamic man of action," to find himself in this position. There is no doubt about it: governing is harder these days.

There are many reasons for this. At the end of 1976 when, momentarily, the predictions for the economy sounded more hopeful again, a leading German banker said that the mood was worse than the situation. Little has changed since then. Except that the mood has got worse.

One can only conjecture about the causes for this gloom. The fact that unemployment figures have persistently remained around the million mark plays an important part.

At the same time, the old feeling of confidence we got from our steady growth has given way to uncertainty, to the question whether we have not reached the end of the road.

And the less there is to be distributed, the more difficult the problem of distribution becomes.

The general mood of resignations has other causes as well, and these are more psychological. The government feels that industry has let it down — and vice-versa. The experts are certain only of their uncertainty.

In the political arena some complain of private affluence and public poverty while others retort that the state is taking an ever larger share to pay its vast army of servants. Some want more state and forget to mention that this also means more bureaucracy.

Others insist on less state; they talk a lot about freedom when in reality they are frequently only concerned with preserving selfish group interests.

Egon Bahr, federal executive of the SPD, summed it up recently with the remark that: "Our state has become boringly normal."

The abnormal times, when so much energy was put into rebuilding this completely destroyed country and people were dragging themselves out of the ruins, are over and done with.

As long as there were real tasks to be done, there was general agreement: everything should get a little better every year.

The real test of our pluralistic democratic system has begun since the reconstruction phase ended. The tedious routine of everyday life has caught up with us.

The more intractable the problems are, the less politicians seem prepared to tell the people the unpleasant facts. All the parties seem only able to make vague promises on the most pressing issues, and meanwhile the state administration arrogates more and more powers to itself.

The reaction has not been slow to come. The citizens who have so often been told that they are critical and aware and share responibility (especially at election times), began taking these assurances seriously and criticising their rulers.

Dissatisfied with politicians and parties, they founded citizens' action committees. Certain court decisions in their favour showed that the state was no longer as all-powerful as some had thought.

But these are all things which are of the essence of a democratic state — far more so than the growing inclination of many parties — led by the Christian Democrat Opposition — to leave political decisions to lawyers and experts. German perfectionism combined with utter self-righteousness and total conviction, which tolerated no doubts.

Governing is no longer the unmixed pleasure it was. The Chancellor and his Cabinet have to steer a daily course between respect for the will of the people and their parties' ideas on the one hand and necessary decisions on the other.

It is typical, too, of a "boringly normal" state that many citizens call for a strong state on the one hand while others want a state with virtually no powers.

Bonn was always a good town for rumours, but it has never been as good as it is today. There are lots of leaks, lots of inside conjectures, but very little is said clearly.

This applies not only to the debate on the economy and tax cuts. There are times when one has to speak out clearly. Wrong decisions are maybe worse than none at all. But no decision at all is simply not good enough.

Werner Hölzer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 August 1977)

■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Is Germany getting a new type of exile?

In connection with the continued exodus of writers and artists from the GDR a word has arisen which ought, in the context of intra-German ties, to come as a shock to us all.

It is the word exile as first used by East Berlin writer Wolf Biermann a few months ago. Biermann chose to live in East Berlin in 1953, fell out of favour with the authorities in the sixties, was refused permission to return to the GDR from a concert tour of this country and currently lives in his native city of Hamburg.

Biermann, the first of a number of intellectuals expelled from the GDR recently, considers himself an exile in this country. The concept proved so striking that the arts editor of a weekly newspaper has felt it appropriate to refer to a new wave of exile literature in this context. When the deeper implications are considered, however, the concept of exile as applied to people who move, whether voluntarily or not, from one German State to the other is dynamite.


Professor Hellmuth Nitsche

It implies that they have left the GDR, but fail to feel at home or able to make a new home here. Have we, then, reached the stage at which people can move from one part of Germany to another and consider themselves to be in exile?

For over twenty-five years and for between two and three million people who left the GDR to start a new life in this country this was not the case. They certainly did not regard themselves as exiles here.

Has the situation changed? Has the encapsulation of the GDR since the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 begun to bear fruit?

By the mid-sixties visitors to the GDR from this country came to regard the other German State as a far-off, distant country.

Have the tables now been turned and does someone born and bred in the GDR who is given the opportunity of moving to this country regard as exile what others before him welcomed as a new home?

If they have and if he does, a crucial juncture has been reached in post-war German history. For this reason, if for no other, the talk of exile must be taken seriously.

Biermann himself may be dismissed with an easy conscience. He may reasonably be assumed to insist on having been sent into exile by the powers that be in the GDR because this is the only interpretation which allows him to hold on to his own private view of socialism.

Hamburg-born Wolf Biermann, the man who chose to live in East Berlin, has a socialist missionary zeal and feels himself to represent the inner voice of the GDR.

The practical difficulties newcomers encounter in trying to pick up the threads of their private and professional lives in this country do not account for the change, if such it is, either.

These difficulties are by no means insignificant, but, given time and a helping hand, they can be surmounted.

Twenty-eight years after the establishment of two German States and sixteen years after they were sealed off from each other the crucial question is somewhat different.

How far apart have Germans on either side of the border grown — not in terms of views and commitments, but in terms of experience and way of life?

Is someone who has spent two or three decades in the socialist pressure-chamber so deeply ingrained in the process that he or she will never feel entirely at home in this country?

Whether or not he or she is a convinced and dedicated citizen of the GDR (or is supposed to be so) is neither here nor there. The self-proclaimed exiles are for the most part committed Marxists, and look where their convictions have landed them!

A deeper influence is probably exercised by the need to either ward off the blandishments of socialism in private life or come to terms with them or simply toe the line.

Is someone who has spent a quarter of or half a lifetime jogging along at school and in so-called mass organisations and has learnt how to come to terms with the system going to be able to make the change and adjust to the more critical and self-assured version of citizenship which prevails on this side of the border?

Is someone who has grown accustomed to the somewhat lethargic combination of satisfaction and dissatisfaction that is typical of the GDR going to succeed in becoming a self-confident *Bundesbürger*, or citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany?

Will he or she manage to develop a more spirited, less spineless attitude towards authority, the outlook of some-


Dr Karl-Heinz Nitschke

(Photos: dpa)

one who knows his rights and is determined, say, to get his due — always assuming he or she is allowed to leave the GDR in the first place?

Making the changes a move from East to West entails has never been easy, as millions of people who have done it will agree. So let no one succumb to illusions; next to no one who has made the transition has been able to jettison everything learnt in the GDR.

We are all built like trees with their rings. Our rings are layers of experience, the experience we gain as children, youngsters, in our formative years. It is, when all is said and done, only natural.

The affluence of middle age in the Germany of the economic miracle cannot belie, say, a childhood spent in the Hitler Youth, followed by later years in labour service and the armed forces.

Subsequent generations have been through much the same routine in the GDR. Can we expect them to be able to belie their origins?

Yet on the other hand, next to no one has felt unable to find himself a cubbyhole in the many varied and convenient recesses of post-war society in this country, and what is more, most people have thoroughly enjoyed themselves in the process.

Talk of exile makes one wonder whether this is still possible. If not, then talk of one German nation comprising both German States is no longer strictly accurate.

The mark growing up in the GDR makes on a person would then make that person feel a stranger here — a German exile in Germany. And the GDR would not be entirely to blame.

If this country were so keen on an all-German Germany as Basic Law, the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe and politicians of all hues never tire of assuring us, then surely it ought at least to try to share the experience people in the GDR have gained over the years and continue to gain. *Hermann Rudolph*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 August 1977)


Christian Kunert, left, Gerulf Pannach, Wolf Biermann and Jürgen Fuchs

East Berlin expel[s] five critics of the regime

With the Belgrade review conferen[ce] due to start in October the GD[R] has decided to expel to West Berlin fi[ve] critics of Herr Honecker's regime.

Since a number of civil rights cam[-]paigners and regime critics have been i[n] gaol for between nine months and [a] year awaiting trial, action was long ov[er]due.

Faced with a choice between co[urt] proceedings and an expulsion order, th[e] authorities, remembering the imminen[ce] of the Belgrade conference, chose t[o] quietly expel its critics.

Yet the GDR, always keen to drive [a] hard bargain, is claimed to have nego[ti]ated a deal with Bonn, expelling its cr[itics] in return for the release of GDR spies convicted and imprisoned in th[is] country.

And although none of the agents re[-]leased are reported to have been maj[or] offenders, payment seems likely to hav[e] been made to secure the expulsion of a[t] least two of the GDR five, civil righ[ts] campaigners Professor Hellmuth Nitsch[e] from East Berlin and Dr Karl-Heinz Nitschke from Riesa, Saxony.

The reasoning behind this assumption is that Nitsche and Nitschke had no[t]

Nordwest Zeitung

only submitted exit permit applications themselves; Bonn had also intervened on their behalf.

Prior to their arrest Professor Nitsche and Dr Nitschke merely applied fo[r] permission to leave the GDR and cam[-]paigned for the right of the individual to choose his or her own domicile.

The other three, Jürgen Fuchs, Gerulf Pannach and Christian Kunert, are, in contrast, committed Marxists. Their criticism was not of socialism as such, but of socialism as practised in the GDR.

Again unlike Professor Nitsche and Dr Nitschke, these three have in recent months been repeatedly encouraged by the GDR authorities to apply for exit permits on the understanding that the GDR would be only too happy to part company with them.

It is only fair to add, however, that the GDR has only seen fit to expel to the West critics whose cases have been well publicised in this country.

Yet in connection with protest against the decision to strip East Berlin writer Wolf Biermann of GDR citizenship and to refuse him permission to re-enter the country well over a dozen demonstrators are still in GDR gaols.

They are stagehands, teachers and Church workers in Gera, Erfurt and East Berlin. A number of people who signed Dr Nitschke's Riesa human rights petition are also still in prison.

Some of them have already been sentenced and all they can hope for is that after serving part of their sentences they will be expelled to the West in return for the payment of ransom money.

Hans Dornbach

(Nordwest Zeitung, 29 August 1977)

■ LAW

Radicals finding it harder to get public service jobs



A good two years have passed since the Federal Constitutional Court delivered its ruling on the employment of radicals in the public service. The decision is as controversial as ever.

It did not help Coalition and Opposition to find a common line on legislation to regulate employment procedures in the states, nor did it provide satisfactory guidelines for the administrative courts.

The wordy, but non-committal nature of the Karlsruhe decision, and above all the delegation of the constitutional judges' sole right to determine whether a party is anti-constitutional or not to the executive and administrative courts, has led dogmatists in office and dogmatists in judges' robes into temptation.

They have set themselves up as guardians of the "purity" of the state service and their decisions often seem more abritrary and subjective than based on the principles of "the free and democratic basic order" to which those they are investigating are expected to conform.

A few recent cases give considerable food for thought. First of all the case of teacher Silvia Gingold. A Hesse administrative court has decided that she cannot be given a permanent post as an official in state service because she is a member of the German Communist Party (DKP).

Like most candidates under investigation, her academic record is excellent and her tutors gave her high marks on her teaching practice.

She is well known because her parents, Jewish emigrants and dedicated Communists, fought in the French resistance against the occupying Germans.

This is certainly no reason to give Silvia Gingold preferential treatment; but it might help to make her personal political development understandable.

The Hesse administrative court in Kassel used the Gingold case as an opportunity to state once again that membership of a party which is not prohibited, but is generally considered — by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the government — as hostile to the constitution is in itself enough to reject a candidate for the state service.

The Federal Constitutional Court's ruling clearly did not intend this. It said that membership of a party considered hostile to the constitution by the executive was "only one point to be taken into consideration in the overall assessment of a candidate's suitability." The Hesse ruling is an example of *pars pro toto* — the part for the whole.

It requires considerable skill in interpretation to reconcile the Karlsruhe ruling with the Kassel decision, skill which the court did not possess. It took the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* to provide the clinching argument.

The Karlsruhe decision of two years ago referred to a candidate for the preparatory service for entry to the legal profession. This candidate was a member of the "Rote Zelle Jura" (Red Law Cell).

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* argued that membership of such a cell might not constitute sufficient grounds for a candidate's exclusion, but with the DKP this was different.

The DKP did not have any simple membership; it was a typical cadre party and all its members were activists.

If the Karlsruhe judges had known this, and had to make a ruling on such as case, they would certainly have come to the conclusion that DKP membership alone was reason enough to reject a candidate.

If this is correct, one wonders why another reason, apart from his DKP membership, had to be found for rejecting junior civil servant and engineer Werner Krone's application for a permanent position with the Federal Railways.

This additional reason was that he had stood as a DKP candidate in a local election and it was the same Kassel court which made the decision.

(Almost at the same time a train driver was given a permanent state post despite DKP membership and standing for the DKP in an election).

Herr Krone made a very personal statement to the court, explaining his political career and the reasons for his committment to the DKP. His reasons were similar to those of Silvia Gingold.

His statement does show that the word *Berufsverbot* which is generally proscribed is quite applicable in a wider sense. Since he has been sacked by the Federal Railways, the radical label has stuck to him even when he was applying for jobs in industry.

Employers who might be interested in his services practically all carry out contract work for the railways.

Legal service candidate Hans Michael Empell is probably reckoning on taking up a position as a legal adviser in industry or as a private lawyer.

He has passed his law exams, but given his political past he is as unlikely to be given a state position as the Rote Zelle candidate whose case led the Federal Constitutional Court to make its ruling two years ago.



Students demonstrating against the *Berufsverbot* in Bonn

(Photo: Rudi Meisel/Visum)

Access to jobs in private industry depends on whether the candidate has completed the state preparatory service.

Candidates have to prove that they "have the required qualities for holding the office of judge" even though they have no intention whatsoever of becoming judges.

Judges are expected to show positive loyalty to the constitution and demonstrate their commitment to the free and democratic basic order at all times.

A lawyer can only be refused the right to practise if his "opposition to the constitution renders him liable to legal action."

Schleswig-Holstein Premier Gerhard Stoltenberg ignored this regulation and declared in a letter to Karlsruhe that one should not go out of one's way to make life easy for would be lawyers.

Their political as well as their professional qualities should be tested by means of the "judge's office hurdle", even if active loyalty to the constitution could not be demanded of lawyers.

The Karlsruhe answer on this point was quite categorical: "The state government's interpretation ... is wrong."

The state has a training monopoly for lawyers and other candidates; in the case of those whose loyalty to the constitution was in question, the state would have to institute a "non-discriminatory preparatory service" outside the present system.

The state of Baden-Württemberg has not done this. Instead, it has barred Empell from the preparatory service for precisely the reason which the Federal Constitutional Court declared out of order.

In his student days Empell was once fined two hundred marks for disturbing the peace and once six hundred marks for resistance to public authority.

In the latter case, he punched a policeman who was dragging protesters out of court during the Heidelberg "socialist patients' collective" case. Opposition to the "basic order" liable to legal action?

Hamburg investigations tended to confirm the suspicion that Empell sympathised with the patients' collective, that was later banned on the grounds that it was a criminal association. The public prosecutor did not proceed with the case on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

These facts were enough for the Baden-Württemberg administrative court in Mannheim to refuse Empell not only the right to enter the state service, but the right to practise law at all.

The main reason: regardless of the fact that the Hamburg case was dropped, he was still under suspicion of having supported a criminal association. He had done nothing to remove this suspicion.

The fact that he had distributed leaflets — although criminal proceedings were not instituted — was a further point which weighed against him.

These are sufficient reasons to bar a young man from the profession he wishes to practise — even outside the state service. Nobody knows how he will develop. He paid eight hundred marks in fines for acts of youthful folly. Is this not a high enough price to pay?

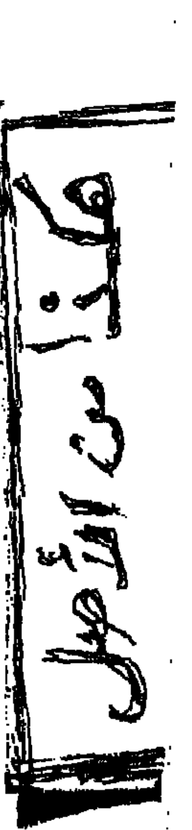
Apparently not. He is being condemmed on mere suspicion. The fact that he has done nothing to remove a suspicion is taken as evidence of guilt, even though the state prosecutor did not consider the evidence enough for a case against him.

On whom does the burden of proof fall in this state based on the rule of law which we are meant to be defending. The accuser or the accused?

We are going to have to think hard about the word *Berufsverbot* whether we want to or not.

Its effects are being felt even outside the public service. *Hans Schueler*

(Die Zeit, 2 September 1977)



■ ECONOMICS

Keeping the currency Snake alive is an expensive business

Sweden has withdrawn the krona from the European joint float, or Snake, and devalued by ten per cent, with Norway and Denmark following suit to the tune of five per cent each.

It is the first time the Snake has been in really heavy weather since October last year. You may wonder whether such upsets matter much one way or the other. The fact is that they cost the taxpayer in this country a small fortune.

Snake advocates, who include Chancellor Schmidt, point out that the Snake is one way of preserving, until prospects look less bleak, the embryo of an EMU, or European Monetary Union.

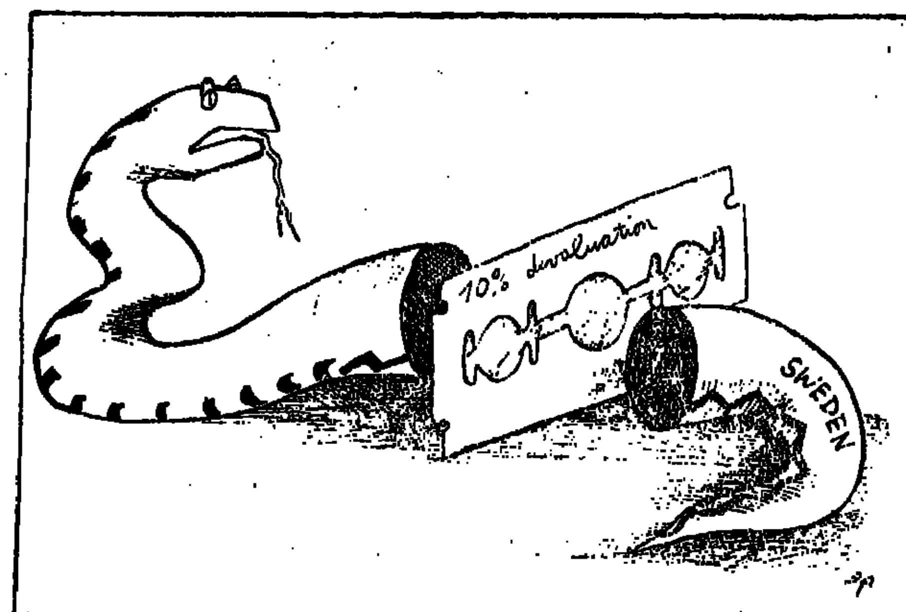
Valuable though this exercise may be, it is also expensive. The Bundesbank has to invest thousands of millions of deutschmarks in shoring up ailing Snake currencies when the going gets rough.

In addition to this country the members of the Snake arrangement have been Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, all of whom undertook to defend fixed parities between their respective currencies.

So whenever a constituent currency catches cold, the central banks of other Snake countries intervene on money markets to buy up the ailing currency until it is less than two and a half per cent from the agreed parity.

Since the deutschmarks has invariably been a hard currency, the Bundesbank has regularly had to intervene on behalf of its weaker brethren, and market intervention costs money.

What is more, the foreign exchange the Bundesbank buys tends to increase the amount of money in domestic circulation to an unnecessary extent.



(Cartoon: Norbert Bruns/Neue Ruhr Zeitung)

Since 1974 the Bundesbank has sought to stabilise the annual increase in money in circulation at eight per cent with a view to keeping inflation at bay. This target has regularly gone by the board because of support purchases of other Snake currencies.

The Snake has yet to prove of any great advantage as far as this country is concerned. More often than not it has put paid to Bonn government and Bundesbank endeavours to maintain economic stability.

Advocates of the Snake do not for a moment deny that this is the case, but they are prepared to shoulder the burden because they feel the Snake imposes a certain discipline on its members.

A joint float can only be maintained as long as member-governments pursue similar economic policies. If everyone were as determined to fight inflation as this country is, the prospects of the Snake surviving intact would be good.

In practice inflation in other Snake countries is higher than in our own, a shortcoming that can be offset in one of two ways, the first of which is the pursuit of stringent economic policies with a view to narrowing inflationary margins.

Supporters of the Snake feel that in the long run the others will have no option but to adopt policies of this kind to restore the balance, but the trouble is that in some countries such policies are politically less feasible than in our own.

The alternative is to devalue, but the story is always the same: governments postpone the decision to devalue for as long as possible because they feel that devaluation is tantamount to an admission that their economic policies have been mistaken.

So they usually devalue too little and too late, with the result that a further devaluation is a virtual certainty, and often enough this country has been left with no option but to revalue the deutschmark in relation to other Snake currencies.

This the Bundesbank was last forced to do in October 1976. The effect is the same, no matter whether the deutschmark is revalued or other currencies are devalued. Exporters are saddled with higher prices, whereas imports are less expensive.

Mistaken ideas often have a long lease of life because the people concerned are reluctant to admit that they have been wrong and prefer to talk in terms of a "political" solution.

The Snake will continue to sow the seeds of its own destruction for as long as its member-countries fail to pursue coordinated economic policies.

The scene is reminiscent of Haydn's Farewell Concernto, with one musician after another packing his instrument and leaving the rostrum, finally leaving two violinists to sign off with a low-key finale.

France has quit the Snake twice now. Sweden has just left. The remaining members ought to put the Snake out of its misery before this country and Holland are left holding the metaphorical baby.

Rudolf Herlt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 August 1977)

The Snake is a club strictly for the well-to-do

For five years now the accompaniment has always been the same when a country has dropped out of the Snake, or joint European currency float.

The rump, anxious to play down the news, are at pains to emphasise that they feel no less beholden to one another and have every intention of carrying on regardless.

As for the country that has served notice to quit, its government goes to great lengths to point out that the withdrawal must not be considered final.

The dropout merely feels temporarily indisposed and not really clubbable for the time being, but once it has recovered, all being well, it will be only too happy to rejoin the Snake.

This was the story, although the tale was doubtless told in a less fanciful fashion, in July 1972 when sterling withdrew from the Snake after only two unhappy months in membership.

This was the tale a good six months later when the Italian lira quit the Snake, and it was the same again when the French franc withdrew, France having achieved the distinction of joining and quitting the Snake twice.

Now it is Sweden's turn to make reassuring noises as it parts company with the Snake, yet apart from Denmark, which has pulled out once, but since rejoined and stayed in membership, no other former member has rejoined the club.

What is more, it does not look as though Britain, France or Italy are likely to do so in the foreseeable future. They prefer freedom to the strict monetary rules of club membership, even though Snake membership undeniably affords a degree of protection from the slings and arrows of non-members.

This failure to rejoin on the part of countries that tendered their resignation in order to put their own houses in order ought surely to be food for thought. For governments beset by balance-of-payments problems the Snake certainly would not appear an attractive proposition.

It was originally assumed that the obligation to abide by certain rules and regulations would impose discipline on weaker links in the chain, but the opposite has proved the case.

Countries that prove least able to cope with problems of stabilising their economies and balancing payments do not float along in the wake of others who have been more sucessful.

Their difficulties are intensified and their foreign exehange reserves melt like snow in the midday sun. They are left with no option but to quit.

Experience has shown that the Snake need not be expected to lend a hand to members most in need of assistance. It is a club strictly for the well-to-do.

This puts paid to the notion that the Snake might form the nucleus of a future European Monetary Union. The affluent are declining in number, whereas the number of countries which are in difficulty is on the increase.

Failure to rejoin leads to a further conclusion. Britain, Italy and France opted for monetary freedom in order to allow their currencies to float to levels that more accurately reflected their true value.

For sterling and the lira the effect of market forces was a spectacular process of devaluation, yet devaluation failed to bring sufficient relief — or not, at any rate, enough for either Britain or Italy to seriously consider rejoining the Snake.

Indeed, both countries were confronted with a fresh problem, that of gearing domestic economic policies to international monetary requirements in order not to allow exchange rates to plummet and inordinately increase the price of imports.

No matter which choice is taken, fiddling with exchange rates would not appear an effective means of setting right a fundamental domestic imbalance, be it unemployment, inflation or a chronic balance-of-payments deficit.

This dictum applies to the Snake too, of course. Exchange rate policies are a necessity but their effect must not be overrated.

An economy that is badly listing can only be restored to an even keel by dint of prompt and effective domestic action, and although this conclusion may not sound sensational it has been impressively confirmed by the story of the Snake.

Sanctimonious official pronouncements on exchange rate matters, on the other hand, are invariably disproved. Any market observer realised well in advance that devaluation of the Scandinavian currencies could only be a matter of time.

Yet after a recent meeting of Finance Ministers in Paris this country's Hans Apel blandly noted that the market was extremely quiet and exchange-rate realignments within the Snake were not under consideration.

Finance Ministers cannot, of course, be expected to give speculators advance notice of what is in the offing, but surely there must be a subtler approach. Maybe Herr Apel would have done better to be extremely quiet himself for once.

Bernd Hagelstein

(Handelsblatt, 30 August 1977)

■ INDUSTRY

Germany's steel industry hard-pressed by foreign competition

This year, German steel works will produce only forty million tons of steel. This is the fear expressed by the managers of Thyssen and Krupp, Klöckner, Hoesch and Salzgitter, the main steel concerns in this country.

This is less than they produced ten years ago and only two thirds of what they could produce.

Germany was once the world's third most important steel-producing nation, renowned for the high quality of its finished products. Now its production figures are not very far ahead of those of the People's Republic of China.

There are holes in the German steel net. Since 1970 alone, 50,000 jobs have been lost in the metal and steel industry in this country. Ten years ago there were over half a million men working in the iron and steel industry.

Today the figure is only 320,000 There are only 210,000 men working in German blast furnaces at the moment, and 65,000 of those were on part-time work in February of this year.

The reason for this depression in the industry is not economic recession or seasonal difficulties, but overcapacity or, in other words, structural change. This structural change is going on on an international level; it is part of a development in economic history which, once started, pursues its course irresistibly.

Fifteen years ago, this country's steel works produced about 100,000 tons of steel per annum more than Japan. The steel industry here was in undisputed third place in world rankings, behind the USA and the Soviet Union.

In 1976, the German steel concerns had only dropped one place, to fourth. But the distance between them and the first three is incomparably greater than that between Germany and those lower down the scale.

The Soviet Union leads with a total annual output of 147 million tons in 1976. The USA, which for many years headed the lists, follows at a considerable distance with only about 116 million tons of steel per annum.

The Japanese follow close on the Americans' heels with 107 million tons. They have set themselves a target of 175 million tons by 1985.

This country's steel concerns produced 58 million tons in 1974. In 1975 the figure was only 42 million tons and this year it will probably be something under 40 million tons.

The gap between them and the Chinese, who produced about 26 million tons in 1976, is not so very great.

The Chinese are followed by the old industrial nations France, Italy and Britain, each with yearly totals of about 23 million tons. These three are followed by the East bloc republics of Poland and Czechoslovakia with 16 and 15 million tons respectively.

These lists tell us a lot about structures and enable us to make certain predictions about the future.

High steel output is always an indicator of a certain level of industrialisation: a relatively early, undeveloped phase.

Steel — i.e. iron ore and coal — is the basis of industrial production and a sign that a country has attained the status of an industrial nation. It is not a symbol of an affluent society.

Coal and steel are rightly regarded as heavy industries by means of which production capacity and capital can be gained for the second, more spectacular phase of industrial growth, the production of consumer goods.

It is only this second phase, and not the steel phase, which gives rise to the society which is typical of Western industrial nations: the so-called affluent society.

Let us take America for example. This Americans use less steel than the Russians — and this in spite of far higher per capita income, a far more luxurious standard of living, the country's inestimable resources, the extravagant use of consumer goods and services and private car production between eight and ten million units per annum, twenty times more than the Soviet Union.

The big investments in basic industries were made long ago. You do not need steel for light metals, plastics and electronics.

Poland and Czechoslovakia produce more steel than the German Democratic Republic, the most advanced industrial nation in the East blo. The same reasons apply here as in the case of the Soviet Union and the USA.

The Japanese are the one big exception. The masters of highly developed technology have long since passed the early industrial phase of basic industry.

But as the leading producers of ships and lorries the Japanese need more steel than other nations and they have proved themselves as very talented steel dealers on world markets.

It seems that the German steel concerns have reached their limits on the international markets. Last year, for example, this country imported more steel than it exported.

Foreign buyers are only interested in products of the highest quality. The Japanese sell their bulk steel about 200 marks a ton cheaper than the Germans, and a number of developing countries can go up to a hundred marks below the Japanese.

In spite of modern technology, and special techniques such as the induction process developed by German businessman Willi Korf, steel production is considered a basic technology in which wage costs are an excessive burden. This means that countries with low wage costs can take over the steel business.

Steelmen in the traditional industrial nations, anxious to export their goods, have accelerated this tendency by building entire steel works in developing countries.

Hans Birnbaum, head of the Lower Saxonly Salzgitter-Peine steel works, put it like this recently: "We had the markets in the Third World once. Today they are autonomous, and tomorrow they will be exporting."

German steel concerns managed to avoid this inevitable process for some time by superrationalisation measures and big mergers.

Thus Thyssen grew into one of the biggest steel concerns in the world. In 1976, the Thyssen works produced nearly a third of all German steel: 12.8 million tons.

Krupp and the state Salzgitter-Peine steel works were dwarves in comparison, producing 4.1 million tons each.

But as time wears on, it becomes increasingly unlikely that even giant European concerns can produce ordinary steel at competitive prices — until perhaps one fine day even today's developing countries get more expensive.

This is why the steel barons in Brussels want to set up something equivalent to the EEC agriculture market for steel.

This would be a quota-cartel protection against outside competition, with minimum prices. Anyone undercutting would then have to pay fines.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 29 August 1977)

Tyre industry is losing its bounce

The German tyre industry is in difficulties. Apart from Pirelli, Uniroyal and market leaders Michelin, every tyre company is in the red. And this sector sees no gleam of hope on the horizon.

On the contrary, a price war and cheap imports from all over the world have had a very unsettling effect on the market.

Steel belt and radial tyres now last twice as long as in the past and this means that the replacement market has shrunk considerably. Producers of winter tyres suffered badly last winter because of the mild weather with practically no frost or snow periods.

The car industry, which is celebrating its most successful year ever, has little sympathy with the tyre industry, the most important spare-parts industry.

Germany's mass-producers of cars reached record production figures and the tyre industry obviously profited accordingly. But experts point out that the tyres supplied on new cars are not so important, in other words, they do not bring in much profit.

Karlheinz Kufferath, chairman of the board of the highly profitable Uniroyal AG in Aachen, complains: "There isn't a penny to be made out of tyres for new cars."

There seems to be no way out of the dilemma the tyre industry is in at the moment. One problem is that it still has not recovered from the structural change from diagonal to radial tyres.

The long-lasting steel belt tyre means that there is not so much to be made out of replacements, which were a highly profitable business.

Tyre prices have remained very stable in this country because of the tightness of price competition. Finally, German motorists are driving considerably less in an effort to save, and this clearly has a negative effect on the replacement business.

There seems to be only one way out of this vicious circle: the industry has to be "cleaned up."

Uniroyal boss Kufferath says quite openly what a lot of people have been whispering for some time now.

"Capacity, which in some cases is up to 30 per cent underused, has to be reduced."

The Metzeler Kautschuk AG, part of the Bayer concern, is frequently mentioned in this context. It has been in a virtual "coma" in the private car tyre market for some years now.

The tyre industry will also have to adjust to the fact that a certain degree of product specialisation will be necessary in the future. In other words: they will have to pay more attention to lorry tyres in view of the expanding market for utility vehicles.

Germany's tyre industry finally has two more problems to solve. Other European India rubber companies have been merging and cooperating in order to reduce the huge development and research costs.

The latest example of this is the Austrian Semperit concern combining with the French Kleber-Colombes group in a Swiss holding company.

The German companies Conti, Phoenix and Metzeler, all still independent, will certainly have to cooperate more in future, even though it does not look as if the German Tyre Union many have been expecting to be formed will in fact become a reality in the near future.

German firms will also have to catch up with the French Michelin concern, which has a considerable lead in technological expertise.

Michelin in this country has a 30 per cent share of the market. Michelin produced the first steel belt tyres in the world in Clermont Ferrant with patents which are still secret.

German firms have, however, made astonishing advances on the development front over the past few years, so there is no reason for them to suffer from a "Michelin complex."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 August 1977)

Leather goods are in big demand

Things are looking up for the German leather goods and suitcases industry. Last year, turnover was up 12 per cent against the year before and this year the development is also "satisfactory", according to Leatherware Association executive, Klaus Diehl, at the Offenbach fair.

The German leather goods industry is in a strong position within the European Community. With a 30 per cent share in total production of leather goods and suitcases it is in first place, followed by Italy with 26 per cent, France with 20 per cent and Britain with 7 per cent.

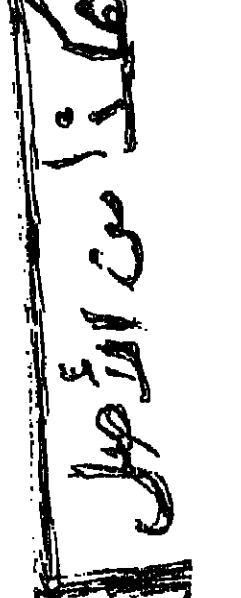
Annual production of leather goods and suitcases within the EEC is worth about five thousand million marks. About 100,000 people are employed in this industry.

The industry's total turnover at the moments is about 1.7 thousand million marks. If one also includes leather gloves and technical leather products, the total volume of turnover comes to 1.9 thousand million marks. The industry has achieved considerable success in the export business.

Last year exports were up 28 per cent, coming to 286.5 million marks' worth. In the first five months of 1977 German leather exports were up 14 per cent.

The German leather industry presented its latest creations at the Offenbach fair from the 27 to the 31 August. A total of 420 firms displayed their wares, including 100 from abroad.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 26 August 1977)



■ ENERGY

Natural gas, the fuel of the future

Oil is on its way out, natural gas on its way in; there could be no mistaking the trend at the fifth international liquid natural gas congress in Düsseldorf, which was attended by roughly 2,000 specialists from forty countries.

Speakers all agreed that natural gas reserves will last well into the next millenium. Natural gas is environmentally A1 and will prove of invaluable assistance in helping to bridge the gap between exhaustion of oil reserves and the development of atomic energy and new coal and shale techniques.

What is more, natural gas will really boost world trade once it has come into its own, which will necessitate investment to the tune of $300,000 million.

National and international problems associated with the construction of nuclear power stations and the uninterrupted supply of nuclear fuel have done no more than confuse the public, says Klaus Liesen, board chairman of Ruhrgas AG.

Natural gas, he claims, has a major role to play in safeguarding energy supplies over the decades to come. What is more, developing the gas industry presents fewer unsolved problems than any other source of energy.

Proven world reserves of natural gas total 72 billion cubic metres, or the equivalent of 96,000 million tons of coal. Estimated reserves that have yet to be accurately located total a further 163 *billion* cubic metres, equivalent to 217,000 million tons of coal.

Herr Liesen added that the existence of reserves did not in itself ensure that supplies world be available. The countries concerned must be prepared to export their gas, rings must be set up, pipelines built and marketing facilities provided.

He also sounded a warning note, pointing out that it is wrong to assume that import agreements are concluded solely on the understanding that energy prices will remain constant. All major projects are speculative to one degree or another. The Ruhrgas board chairman is nonetheless convinced that the prospects of a rapid increase in the liquid natural gas trade over the next decade have never been better. He conceded, however, that attempts to come to terms on imports of liquid gas from the Persian Gulf have so far proved a failure. As yet the discrepancy between investment cost and price risk is too great. Yet, as Herr Liesen recalled, neither the contract with Iran for gas deliveries by pipeline nor the deal with Algeria for the supply of liquid gas by tanker would have come about had it not been for the increase in petroleum prices in 1973 and 1974.

Without suggesting that another round of drastic price increases might be called for, Herr Liesen pointed out that further large-scale natural gas deals might well prove an economic proposition for Western Europe.

Klaus Liesen's place at the rostrum was taken by the vice-president of Sonatrach, the Algerian government corporation, M. Ait-Laoussine, who told the congress that the industrialised countries would be wrong in assuming that Opec members were prepared to exhaust their oil reserves within a generation merely to meet burgeoning demand from the industrialised world.

Energy alternatives, he noted, have enormous potential even though they may not, as yet, represent a genuine alternative in view of the state of development and investment cost of shale extraction, coal liquefaction and, of course, the attendant problems of environmental conservation.

An energy shortfall might nonetheless be forestalled, M. Ait-Laoussine maintained, by utilisation of the natural gas that is currently burnt at the well-head.

Opec countries plan to export 16[illegible] million cubic metres of natural gas, [illegible] per cent of which will be supplied [illegible] Algeria and a further forty per cent [illegible] the Gulf States.

Last year these countries exported 20,000 million cubic metres of gas and burnt off a further 120,000 million cubic metres, or the equivalent of 110 million tons of oil.

Reserves that could be exploited [illegible] and now, the Algerian corporate executive claimed, would amount to [illegible] million barrels of oil equivalent a day (or two thirds of current Opec output) for twenty years.

Development of Opec's gas reserves would call for the construction of [illegible] tankers at $150 million each, 100 liquefaction plants at $1,500 million each and 100 installations at $300 million each to convert the liquid back into gas.

Opening the congress, Karsten Rohwedder, state secretary to the Bonn Ministry of Economic Affairs, admitted that forecasting is fraught with difficulties.

There would, however, seem to be [illegible] escaping the alarming forecast that petroleum will start growing scarce from the mid-eighties onwards.

Hans Baumann

(Die Welt, 30 August 1977)

Total energy consumption
(including power production)

Nearly 75 per cent of energy produced is used for heating

Source: Ruhrgas AG

Nienburg factory first to use solar heat

The oil crisis both highlighted energy and commodity supply problems and played a leading role in fostering economic depression.

Yet at the same time it led to a prompt reappraisal of energy alternatives. Solar energy is one such alternative, and progress in harnessing solar energy has been made in next to no time.

In Nienburg, near Hanover, the country's first solar heating unit in industrial use has been inaugurated at a clothing factory.

The solar panels on a factory roof generate heat to work steam irons and, incidentally, to heat the staff swimming pool. The opening ceremony was attended by Dr Hans-Joachim Röhler, state secretary to the Lower Saxon Economic Affairs Ministry.

Dr Röhler congratulated the company on launching a pilot project that promised to pave the way for technological innovations that will prove both interesting and important.

He noted that the search for alternative energy sources has been accelerated to a pace the layman could not but consider breathtaking. The outcome so far, moreover, has proved most encouraging.

Dr Ulf Bossel, president of the Solar Energy Association, even went so far as to suggest that harnessing solar energy might prove the wellspring of economic recovery.

Dr Bossel claimed that by harnessing solar energy new industries could be developed and the economy revamped. Energy problems would be solved, as would many other current difficulties.

Jobs would be either created or maintained. Environmental pollution could be kept to a minimum. Other energy sources would be used more sparingly and the country's dependence on energy imports reduced.

The installation of solar heating panels and equipment certainly provided a number of engineers with employment in Nienburg. In addition to 85 square metres of panels, heat exchangers, valves, switchgear, piping and insulation needed installing.

The techniques deployed were strictly conventional; their combined effect was new.

The Nienburg solar heating unit, which has been operational since June and could, albeit in a smaller dimension, equally well be used for domestic heating, consists of fifty panels facing south at an angle of 45 degrees.

"The unit may take a decade to pay for itself," the owner of the company says, "but pay for itself it sooner or later will."

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29 August 1977)

■ THE ARTS

Impressive variety of glasswork at Coburg exhibition



We generally think of glass as a delicate, fragile material. But this conception is mistaken. This, at least, is the impression one has after seeing the interesting "International Glass Prize" exhibition at the Coburg Veste.

There are two main themes at the exhibition: on the one hand there is the collection of old prints, and on the other director Heino Maedebach's collection of old glass which has been considerably extended over the past few years.

The visitors seem to be mainly interested in the graphic collections and the display of glasses. One can also see the rooms where Luther stayed during the Augsburg Reichstag, as well as paintings and sculpture from the Middle Ages and valuable old weapons.

Since the end of July, artists in glass and glassmakers from all over the world have been coming to this exhibition. It is being run under the aegis of the Bavarian Premier and is the first European glass competition.

Glass is a kind of half-way house between craftsmanship and art and seems to be a medium where people are more interested in learning from than competing with one another. They learn about shaping and about new technological processes.

Over the past two decades new possibilities and new qualities have been developed in this age-old material, new procedures have been tried out, and old ones have been developed or taken up again.

It seems that creative glassmakers are deliberately moving away from industrial modes of production and thereby have more in common with the other arts.

Glass as working material, as the basis for sculptural objects, glass used to achieve picture-like effects; there are many examples of such uses of glass which catch the eye at the exhibition; as if there were a tendency to capture glass as a material for sculpture — just as there are occasional attempts to do the same for porcelain.

The chances for glass in this respect at the moment seem to confirm this tendency. (The jury consisted of Roberto Niederer, Zürich; Caroline Pearce-Higgins, London; Joergen Schou-Christensen, Copenhagen; Heino Maedebach, Coburg, and Erwin Eisch of Frauenau as expert adviser.)

The Coburg Town Prizes consisted of one prize of ten thousand, one prize of five thousand and three prizes of two thousand five hundred marks.

There were also a number of other prizes of two thousand marks each, and all but one of theses prizes were shared, the exception being the "Günther Peill" prize for young artists.

The five thousand mark prize was won by the Englishman Steven Newell for his "Fly-Cups", cups on wings by which he made the cup of tea into a useful picture metaphor.

Those who have seen how the quality of the products of the Murano glass factories has declined since the fifties (not to mention the production of glass souvenirs) will understand why the interest in this competition has been so great.

In many places there has been a tendency for glass artists and glassmakers to be cut off from one another and this has had tragic effects on the production of *artistically high quality* glass products. Unfortunately, the Coburg exhibition provides no solution to this problem.

In Scandinavia, the glass-artist has worked harmoniously with glassmakers in the glass factory for many years now. Complete integration has been achieved there, and the Scandinavians are fortunate in this respect.

One can see how well their system works when one looks at the heavy vases, and the bowls on which the colours merge into astonishing unity with the vessel.

We see how the artistic techniques of coating, etching, cutting and speckling with diamonds can be used; how the movement of the glass as it is being made is incorporated into the final shape; how, to a brilliant mastery of chance, effects are achieved that always seem original, never mass-produced from the aesthetic point of view.

This is the main appeal of the exhibition and the various demonstrations for the layman.

There are many poetic effects, not only in the case of the glass panes speckled with pictures and texts.

The clear glass plates, for example, which could be pushed after one another and seemed as if engraved; the speckled glass balls of various sizes one in another which could be turned in various directions.

These glass balls with their symbolic miniatures, figures, emblems and texts by Kristian Klepsch were more impressive than Ann Wärff's leaded "Picture within a Picture" illustrating the combinations of various techniques such as etching, cutting and melting over.

Wärff was awarded the first prize of five thousand marks and Klepsch got a two thousand mark prize.

However, I do not wish to question the jury's judgement here, especially when one remembers that the moving of picture elements on large transparent screens has been a familiar theme ever since Rauschenberg some years ago.

Another aspect of this fascinating and interesting exhibition is the "tension" between craftsmen's techniques and the potential of glass as a working material: There are numerous examples of this on display.

In Coburg we can study the immense range of different kinds of glass and different glass-making techniques. One is torn between admiration for technical ingenuity on the one hand and the degree of simplicity, finesse or artistry on the other.

One moment it is an immaculately smooth surface, the cristalline perfection of a piece of glass; the next moment it is a rougher, flawed, more opaque material; a vessel, or a decorative flight of fancy on a simple form.

The use of glass plates piled on top of one another, arranged or disarranged in various ways molten or stuck together with artificial resin purely for optical effect — this is more problematic.



Lars Birger Hellsten's *Wasserblatt* (Water Leaf)

The effect here becomes all-important. The glass is a mere starting point, mere material and its special characteristics are largely ignored in the attempt to create an effect. But then anything goes if you like it, it is allowed.

Glass as a material is very variable, but it is basically decorative, like precious stones. The borderline between the glass-artist and the jewel-former is very narrow and difficult to define with absolute certainty.

We see at the exhibition that traditional glass-making areas such as Bohemia, Thuringia and the Bavarian Forest have quite different methods from the Scandinavians, Dutch, Italians, Spaniards and Poles.

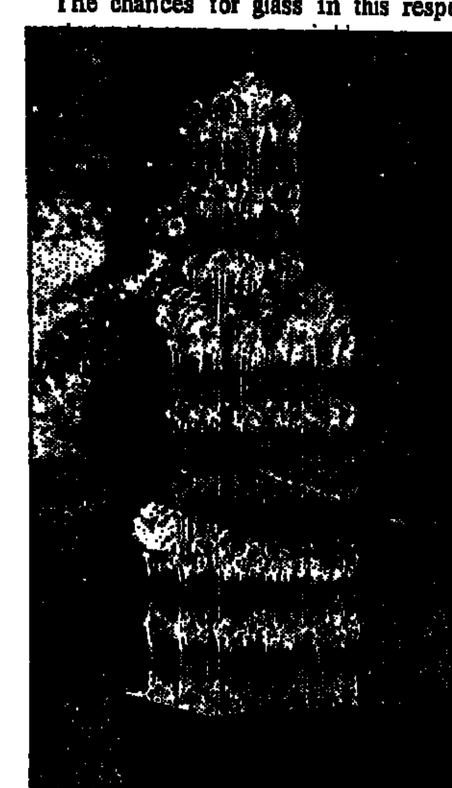
The differences can be studied in some depth — there are, after all, works by over two hundred people at the exhibition.

Those interested in modern glass-shaping in Japan can study the work of Kyohei Fujita in a special exhibition at Coburg. His work does not attempt to achieve spectacular effects.

He uses everyday glass objects such as jars in his work, which seems to invite us to meditate.

Doris Schmidt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 August 1977)



H. R. Janssen's *Object 7716*

(Photos: Katalog)

Basle museum pays $ 120,000 for Beuys' *Feuerstätte*

The Basle Museum of Art has bought Joseph Beuys' work *Feuerstätte* for 120,000 dollars (about 285,000 marks). The New York Robert Feldmann gallery displayed this work at the fifth Basle Art Fair in 1974.

The previous record price for a Beuys arrangement was 190,000 marks. The West Berlin Neue Nationalgalerie paid this at the beginning of 1977 for *Richtkräfte*: this was a five by twelve metre podium (as base) with blackboards covered in writing (three standing, others lying around on the ground), one with a crutch (handle downwards), plus a "lightbox" (showing a hare) and an east-west axis in chalk, the axis having been worked out exactly with a compass.

Richtkräfte was shown in 1975 at the Berlin gallery owner René Block's New York branch and, in the summer of 1975, in the "ambience" section of the Venice biennial.

The Basle Art Museum spent almost an entire year's buying budget on *Feuerstätte*. (The budget is 350,000 francs). The work consists of several copper rods with primary numbers engraved on them.

These rods stand against the museum's walls. Then come two small, low wooden wagons (containing two more rods), a felt-insulated walking stick, two boards with writing in chalk on them and the word "iron" (one of the longer copper rods has in iron end).

Dr. Dieter Koepplin, an admirer of Beuys and director of the Basle copper-plate engraving museum, has written a more than 100-line description and interpretation of *Feuerstätte* for the benefit of those who visit it: "We know that copper is the best conductor of electricity.

"Here we find engraved on it an infinite series of primary numbers. We also find a felt wrapping which in this context is to be understood as an insulation and means of collecting energy. When copper and iron corrode, this causes a very slight electrical charge (battery)."

Beuys could choose any room in the museum he liked for this flexible work, conceived in Düsseldorf in 1974: "for reasons of space and proximity to other works (Mondrian, Arp, Tapies, Johns etc.)".

Reinhard Müller-Mehlis

(Münchner Merkur, 23 August 1977)

■ PUBLISHING

Wave of violence and sadism sweeps comic-book market

We gloated in his fear, we made him fear for his life before we attacked him. We needed that. It did us good to see our victims' fear. It was an incredibly pleasant feeling to hear the death cries of these people ... I saw the blood dripping from his hands.

"It was too much, I couldn't control myself any longer, I rushed over to the man and sucked his life blood up with my black snout. Next to my head, the man screamed. This increased my pleasure."

This appalling scene is taken from a little book entitled "Blood Court of the Insects." It appears in the series "Ghost Thrillers" published by the Bastei Verlag.

But other publishers also print horror stories — and the content of some of these is so disgusting that it simply cannot be quoted.

Murders, rapes and tortures by all kinds of imaginary monsters are described in the minutest detail. We also read about the annihilation of "inferior" groups by "better" people.

The horror comics can be bought for a few pence at kiosks, garages and in department stores. About fifty per cent of these shoddily written works are bought by children and teenagers.

Here are some of their titles: "The Strangling Skeleton," "The Night of the Killer Corpses," "He Drank his Victims' Blood," "The Blood Garden of Sodom."

There are no exact figures or reliable statistics. No one seems to be bothered about the wave of violent literature which is flooding the "comic market", as the experts call it. Sadism, instead of "filth" is making big money for these publishers at the moment.

One of those who is concerned at this trend is Rudolf Stefen, chairman of the Federal Examination Bureau for Writings Harmful to Young People. (BSP) in Bonn.

He has been campaigning against the glorification of violence for years now — though not very successfully when one considers that the "Law on the Distribution of Writings Harmful to Youth" has hardly been applied up to now.

This law states that all writings likely to put children or young people in moral danger should be listed, or put on an index.

This is done by means of publication in the *Bundesanzeiger* (Federal Gazette). Indexed works are not to be made accessible to children or teenagers.

Kiosks, mail-order firms, lending libraries and reading circles are not allowed to sell them.

According to the law, writings which glorify war, cruelty and inhumanity to other men and thereby glorify violence generally; writings inciting racial hatred, or which are pornographic in the sense of the penal law are all considered harmful to youth.

Whoever reads these booklets — along with romances, doctor novels and other "penny dreadfuls" on the market — will be in no doubt that most of them describe cruel acts of violence against people, frequently with more or less obvious sexual overtones.

Why does not the Federal Examination Bureau do anything about this?

The answer is simple. The Bureau does not have sufficient authority. It can only act upon complaints.

Those entitled to present complaints to the bureau are: the Ministry for Youth, the Family and Health and the various state authorities — the youth, social and education ministries.

Theoretically, any citizen who considers these booklets harmful to young people can inform his minister and demand that the booklet be put on the BSP's index.

"But what minister is going to take the trouble to read it? That would really be asking too much," says Stefen.

The minister would also risk having his complaint rejected by the BSP. And who enjoys having his complaints turned down by his subordinates?

What worries Stefen far more is that people do not even bother to write to their ministers.

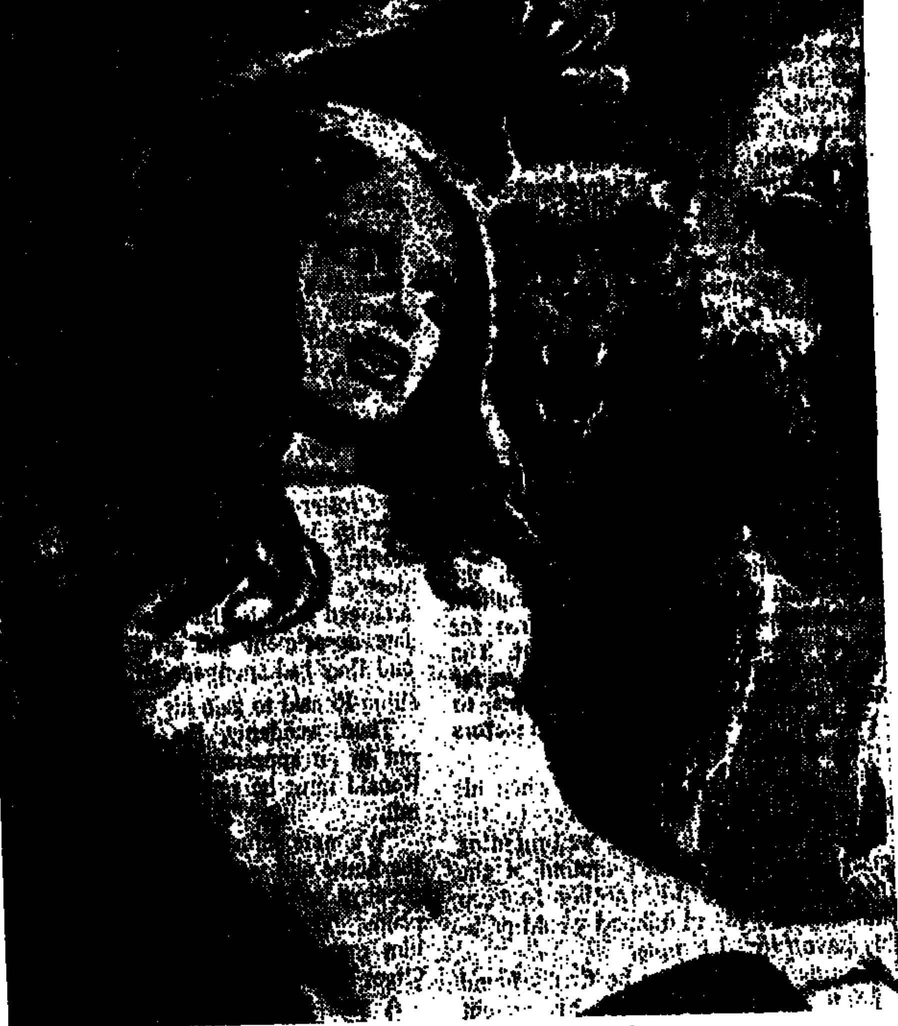
They do not even seem to realise that their children *are reading these* horror products or — what is most alarming — they do realise, but they consider them harmless.

"A few years ago, parents and teachers thought children were in mortal danger if they saw a naked breast. But now they are obviously blind to the dangers of the current wave of sadism," Stefen complains.

The Federal examiner blames scientists, among others, for this blindness.

Up to 1972 there was general agreement that watching, or reading about, scenes of violence was a good way of getting rid of pent-up aggressions and that such scenes did no harm or even had a positive effect.

Since then, according to Stefen, people have increasingly come to realise that young and unstable people in particular can "learn" violent behaviour from these scenes.



A typical illustration in one of the booklets

(Photo: Verlag 'Der Freibeuter')

They can "learn" such behaviour not only from penny dreadfuls, but also from certain *illustrated* magazines, some issues of which have already been put on the index.

These magazines describe cases in the closest and bloodiest detail — on the hypocritical grounds that they are passing on advice from the police.

The horrifying effect of these "reports" is heightened by the fact that they always suggest that they gangsters were never caught and the number of sox crimes is increasing all the time.

The BSP's offices are in the most expensive business area of exclusive Bonn suburb Bad Godesberg.

But appearances are deceptive. Stefen's rooms are barely and simply furnished.

His colleagues are one full time employee, a secretary and a part-time worker. The actual examination of works is done by the so-called committee of twelve — a group of twelve men and women from various relevant professions: art, literature, the book trade, publishing, youth welfare, teaching and the churches.

The BSP and the committee of twelve work quite independently and are not bound by any directives or ministerial instructions.

They are completely free to decide what goes on to the "blacklist." Indexation is not a ban on production, merely a limitation of distribution.

Publishers and authors can fight the case in court if they wish. Since the BSP was set up in 1954, more than 4.000 works have been put on the index.

The number of complaints has been decreasing steadily over the years. In 1967 and 1968, the years of the fight against "filth", there were almost 500 complaints a year.

In 1974, there were 196 complaints, in 1975 the number was 157 and last year the total was a mere 58, which Stefen describes as "ridiculous."

Stefen sees the drop in the number of complaints not as a sign of a reduction in the number of youth-endangering writings, but as a sign of the general tendency to treat such writings as harmless.

He is severely critical of parents and teachers here: "They are not at all interested in what their children read."

Teachers and parents should be made far more aware of the dangers of violence. He would also like to see the BSP made more accessible.

Not only ministers, but also the 600 youth workers in this country should have the right of complaint. Stefen hopes that this measure, which he has been demanding for some time, will soon be put into effect.

Ada Brandes

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 August 1977)

■ SOCIOLOGY

West Berlin foster-parents campaign against adoption red tape

In 1974 five thousand children lived in local authority care in West Berlin and a further 64,000 in children's homes in the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of them might have been able to grow up with foster-parents in homes of their own had it not been for the red tape that bedevils adoption procedures, the children's homes' habit of holding on to convenient, docile kids and, last but not least, the dearth of information. In November 1974 an adoption information service was set up in West Berlin to help foster-parents and people who are considering adoption. It is privately run and motivated by the desire to make contact with people sharing similar interests, to compare notes on the right way or better ways of going about foster-parenthood and, finally, for mutual encouragement. At present there are 140 members, and all foster-parents mentioned also put in a stint on various working parties. West Berlin consists of twelve metropolitan boroughs which retain a fair amount of administrative independence, with the result that it proves hard to compile a comprehensive register of children for whom foster-parents are sought. The adoption information service has so far been unsuccessful in its attempts to compile a full list for the Western sectors of the divided city.

Andreas was two years old when his mother handed him over to the adoption service. If only a well-meaning social worker had been around at the time to persuade his mother to keep him after all, his childhood would probably have proved happier.

He was twelve before he finally found a home with Hildegard T., his present foster-mother. For ten years he had alternated between one children's home and another and intermittent periods with his real mother.

His behaviour was that of a seriously disturbed child. He woke up at night suffering from nightmares, had tantrums, dirtied his bed and was generally aggressive.

Even now, after a year with his new foster-mother, his real mother still tries to interfere with the boy's upbringing to the point of forbidding him to use the familiar *Du* rather than the formal *Sie* in conversation with Hildegard T.

"She is Frau T. as far as you are concerned," the real mother spitefully tells Andreas, "it is just like being in another children's home."

With situations such as this being far from unusual it is hardly surprising that one of the information service's objectives is to reduce parental rights in the interest of children's rights.

Real parents are frequently arbitrary in the way they choose to exercise parental rights, very much to the child's disadvantage. What the West Berlin campaigners want are safeguards to help ensure a stable and unbroken relationship between foster-parents and child.

"I couldn't keep on taking fresh children" says Ursula S. "René would have a breakdown sooner or later if one child came and another went."

René is the third of six foster-children she and her husband have taken on over the past ten years. "Actually, we were only planning to have two or three," the foster-mother explains.

But Marco, their first, had three brothers and sisters as the years went by. The children's mother put them each in a home and having taken one, foster-parents Ursula and Ferdinand S. felt duty-bound to take on Marco's brothers and sisters too.

Then the mother died. "I know it sounds terrible," says Ursula S., "but we were so relieved when we heard the news. We just couldn't have stood yet another baby."

Who can blame them? In the meantime the family included not only these four half-brothers and sisters, but also Michaela (because the authorities had been at a loss what to do with her) and Ronald.

Ronald is fourteen and the oldest of the six. His tale is a sad story of parental whims. Ursula and Ferdinand S. first got to know Ronald as a four-year-old when they were thinking in terms of a *little brother or sister for Marco, their* first foster-child.

They heard about Ronald, who was leading a sad life in a home, from a doctor of their acquaintanceship. They arranged to foster him, the borough welfare department had given its approval and they had spent several weekends visiting Ronald to gain his confidence.

Then, suddenly, the boy's guardian put in an appearance and insisted that Ronald must be returned to his real family.

"We were refused permission to visit the home and were not even able to say goodbye to Ronald," Ferdinand S. explains. "His real mother then visited him once or twice at the home, then forgot him: out of sight, out of mind."

A year later the welfare department approached the would-be foster-parents again and asked them whether they might still be interested in giving Ronald a home.

He was bitterly disappointed, distrustful and his development had been further set back by another year in a children's home. "We realised we were going to have trouble with Ronald's upbringing, but we hadn't the heart to refuse."

Ferdinand S. is an accountant by profession, but now works only half-days in order to spend more time with the family. He has only been able to do so since allowances for "difficult" or disabled children have been increased.

Foster-parents of a "special case" are under obligation to maintain contact with a local authority psychologist. Once a month they meet other foster-parents at the borough educational advisory centre to discuss their problems with a psychologist and educationalist.

Ursula and Ferdinand S. at least have encountered no trouble with the authorities, whereas Jürgen B. has not a good word to say about them.



"None of them have given us the slightest assistance," he says. "Whenever we have asked for a word of advice the outcome has merely been a note in our file and a reminder that there were plenty of parents worse off than us."

Yet Jürgen and Monika B. did not seek advice for the pleasure of sitting around in corridors and waiting-rooms only to be fobbed off with excuses. Roger, their five-year-old foster-son, screamed so loud and persistently that the neighbours started complaining.

That was three years ago. The family live in a pleasant detached house on the outskirts of the city. Roger and their own daughter, Birgit, who is a year older, are playing in the garden.

Jacqueline, a ten-year-old girl who is evidently very much in need of love and tenderness, never leaves her foster-parents' side. The authorities merely wanted to find a couple to look after Jacqueline temporarily, but then Jacqueline decided she did not want to go back home.

Monika and Jürgen B. had to bar and shutter their home at regular intervals when Jacqueline's mother threatened to send her man round to fetch the girl.

The welfare department did not refuse the mother permission to see her child until Jacqueline was obviously panic-stricken in her refusal to consider the idea of ever seeing her real mother again.

But the authorities did not see fit to inform the real mother in writing, so the ban had little or no effect — not, that is, until the foster-parents sought assistance from a lawyer they knew.

His communications with the child's mother seem to have done the trick. Peace and quiet now prevail. Jacqueline is gradually forgetting memories of an environment in which violence and brutality were the order of the day.

"It was geometry at school and I hadn't got the right ruler," Marina, 16, explains. "Jürgen was our teacher. He asked me if I couldn't afford to buy one. No, I said, I only get DM 33.50 a month and this is soon spent.



A children's dormitory in West Berlin (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

"What about your parents? he asked. I have none, I answered. I live in a home." That was how Jürgen B. got to know the girl who came to be the [illegible] member of his family.

Marina's tale, told in broad Berlin dialect, is a sorry one. She spent her childhood with her grandparents in East Berlin and was the first youngster to be reunited with her family, in this case her mother, in West Berlin four years ago.

Fair exchange may be no robbery, but for Marina it was definitely the thin end of the wedge. "I got beaten instead of my half-brother," she relates. "At the age of five he killed his little brother and later stole a baby from its pram and threw it into the canal. Now he's getting psychiatric treatment.

"The baby's brother is in my class at school and says I'm a murderer. But when it all happened I was not even in West Berlin."

After a couple of years Marina could no longer stand the treatment she received at home. She went to a children's home and the authorities were most reluctant to allow her to leave.

The adoption information service regularly finds that homes are reluctant to part company with children who are no trouble.

"When we ask them to name children who they are prepared to let go to foster-homes they frequently name youngsters with physical or mental defects so serious that they *are virtually impossible* to place."

"My boyfriend," Marina confides with a note of hope in her voice, "is in a home too. He would like to get out, but doesn't know where to."

An information service working party has drawn up a list of material, social and individual prerequisites that appear indispensable if foster-parents and children are not to be disappointed.

Sympathy, the search for a playmate, the attempt to surmount loneliness or restore a marriage to an even keel and even a sense of social commitment are not, in the long run, by themselves enough to sustain a relationship.

Foster-parents must be able accurately to assess their own limits in terms of responsibility, empathy and self-control. They must be able to recognise and respond to shortcomings in a child's development. They must also be able to set aside any claims or expectations they might have.

Yet individual hopes are frequently of crucial importance when foster-parents decide to take on someone else's child. Older children seldom manage to find a new home in this way.

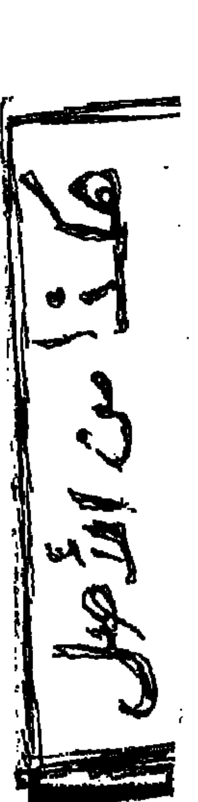
"And there are so many former teachers who ought to be qualified to look after an older child, even a difficult one," says Hildegard T.

She thinks in terms of people who have brought up children of their own and enjoyed doing so — people like herself. Hildegard T. is a schoolteacher, divorced as it happens, with four grown-up children, two girls and two boys.

When the youngest boy leaves home, which will probably be quite soon, she is determined that Andreas will not remain an only child. She already has a younger "sister" in mind.

Hildegard Proebst

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 August 1977)



■ OUR WORLD

Matchbox labels from all over the world on show in Hanover

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The gentlemen appeared with a large matchstick in the lapel of his jacket. When offering a light, he did so from a matchbox showing his portrait, his signature and his address.

All this is hardly surprising when you consider that the man in question is the chairman of the Phillumenistic Society, 47-year-old Werner Heimann, a compositor from Hanover. (Phillumenists are those who collect matchboxes and matchbox labels.)

The large ivory matchstick in his lapel was a gift from a society member in appreciation of his long service as a society official; the label on the matchbox he had printed himself.

Now he was sitting in the back room of a tobacconist's shop at the Steintor and talking shop — or, more appropriately in this case, talking matchboxes.

The reason for his coming here was a small exhibition in the shop window at II, Georgstrasse. The occasion was the group's ninetieth anniversary (and hence there were also exhibitions at the two other branches, Passerelle 42 and Lister Meile 73).

Of course it was far from exhaustive, but nonetheless it contained a few pretty specimens from the collector's treasures.

The main interest of the exhibition is that here one can see some very early Hanover labels — labels to be found on matchboxes produced in long-forgotten factories in the Klagesmarkt, Linden or Hainholz.

It is amusing to read on them "best safety matches without sulphur or phosphorus" or instructions such as: "Strike the match lightly over the surface."

On a number of them we see the Lower Saxon horse with its forehooves up in the air; another brand had the proud name of "German Kaiser matches", but one thing they all have in common; none of them can compete with the richness of colour and ariety of designs to be found on later matchbox labels, from home or abroad. Werner Heimann gives a few examples just to show the incredible richness, variety and multiplicity of matchbox labels from all over the world. A black boxer for Cameroon; an elephant in all its splendour on a box from Sierra Leone; from Kenya, a label showing a river steamer ploughing through the waves. Chinese lables show beautiful women and Japanese ones show judokas. Modern labels seem to cover every conceivable subject. It seems there is nothing so way out that it cannot be represented on a matchbox label.

Some of the matchbox labels from Werner Heimann's collection

There are old-timer series, matchboxes with old Hanover motifs, the signs of the zodiac, flags, animals, minerals and national costumes — all are immortialised in matchbox labels. And every company in the country with any self-esteem gets its name and company sign printed on match boxes and letter-heads.

The coterie of collectors is, as Heimann explains, a small and select one. There are thirty in Hanover, and five hundred in the Federal Republic of Germany. On the other hand, they made up for their lack of numbers by their boundless enthusiasm and had close contacts with foreign collectors.

They had collections that would fill entire houses if the lids were not first taken off the matchboxes and the labels then taken off with water.

The man with the ivory match in his lapel expected the Hanover exhibition to arouse considerable public interest in his hobby and also to make a certain profit — the tobacco shops have asked their customers to bring back empty matchboxes with original designs and in return they will be given [illegible] boxes free of charge.

The profit from this colourful exchange will go to the matchbox label collectors.

But the good people of Hanover [illegible] more than this to keen them entertained.

They have until the end of September to guess how many matches are in the glass bottles in the shop window. Seeing that matches are not an especially attractive prize, the organisers are offering prizes of: a one hundred mark cigarette assortment, a table-lighter and cigarettes.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 August 1977)

(Photos: Karin Blüher)

It's goodbye to 7,000 Korean nurses

"Sister Lotus Blossom" was the name given to the Korean murses who came here in the years of the economic miracle. In those days they were a godsend, helping to alleviate the appalling shortage of hospital personnel.

And they certainly deserve more than their pay and a sincere "thank you".

In all, 7,000 Korean nurses came to this country over a period of some years. But now these almond-eyed girls and women have to go home. Germany no longer needs them.

The fact is that their contracts, many of which have already been renewed for six years, will not be renewed again. But this fact obviously hides a number of cares and anxieties.

One gets the impression that these nurses are being dismissed like servants who have done their duty and whose services are no longer required.

The German Hospital Society (DKG), the Association of Privately Financed Hospitals and the Bonn government have set up a kind of concerted action to counteract this unpleasant impression.

Official sources have already stated that these 7,000 nurses will not find employment in their profession when they return home.

But they have to give up their jobs in this country because of our high rate of unemployment and the high number of German applicants for jobs in hospital. There is no longer a shortage of hospital personnel.

The German Hospital Society: "The reintegration of Korean hospital personnel is a task we have to pursue far more intensively than we have done up to now.

"We want to retrain these Korean nurses while they are still in this country — for instance as secretaries and foreign language secretaries. This retraining is financed by the Bonn Ministry for Economic Cooperation.

"We are going to use the Klausenhof Academy in Dingden (Westphalia) for these courses. Some have already started."

The Korean nurses, who came to this country between 1969 and 1975, do not, of course, all have to go back home at once. Their three-year contracts, which in some cases have been renewed for the same period, will run our some time between now and 1980.

In view of the present recession in this country, these contracts will not be renewed again, states the DKG.

The DGK seems to realise that as the organisation responsible for these Koreans it has not yet solved the problem satisfactorily.

The Hospital Society will therefore be making inquiries in the next few weeks to find out precisely how many nurses will be returning to Korea in the coming months and years.

Once these figures are available, "we will take preparatory measures towards their reintegration."

Hans Wüllenweber

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 August 1977)

'Way out' fashion in menswear is losing its appeal

The men's clothing industry has breathed a sigh of relief; late orders for the autumn and the winter are running better than expected.

This at least is the general trend observable over the last four to six weeks of the international men's fashion fair in Cologne. And so the overall outlook is one of cautious optimism.

The first half of this year was disappointing. There were even reports from a number of manufacturers of cuts in production, but the more favourable predictions for the second half of the year have led many to hope that they will be able to balance their books by the end of the year.

Herr Brinkmann, chairman of the Association of the Men's Clothing Industry, was presented with a tie at the fair — and this tie had a snall design on it.

Herr Brinkmann used this snail as an image for the slow pace of developments in the men's clothing industry; but, on the other hand, he also said that producers would not be able to meet all orders for September and October.

Talks at the fair showed quite clearly that only one category of producer benefitted from this recent slight buoyancy on the market: those who catered for the consumers' demand for higher quality.

This applied in all areas, including that of casual, clothing. Jeans producers, for example, are concentrating on producing heavier, more elegant and better quality clothing.

In the classical area of "correct" men's clothing, the combination of jacket and trousers continues to dominate the field, but two and three-piece suits are also gaining ground. Orders for suits were, according to the experts, higher than had been generally expected. And in this area, too, the demand is for high quality products.

A large number of retailers have taken risks in fashion over the last few years or so but these risks have, so they say, not paid off.

The fact that many retailers have burnt their fingers [illegible] is reflected in the range of clothes on view at the fair: there are far fewer "way out" fashion extravagances.

Most clothes have become "wearable" and therefore easier to sell, according to the retailers. [illegible]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 August 1977)

■ SPORT

Rolf Milser lifts weights equal to 25 cars each day

Weightlifter Rolf Milser has only once seriously considered calling it a day and abandoning his target of a gold medal. That was in Montreal last year when injury deprived him of the opportunity of competing on equal terms for Olympic honours.

Gold, Olympic or world championship, is Milser's objective, the reason why he voluntarily undergoes a punishing training schedule, and his current deadline is the European and world championships, to be geld in Stuttgart from 17 to 25 September.

In the course of a day's training he lifts between forty and 75 tons, the equivalent of, say, 25 family saloon cars. As a rule he spends six hours a day in the gym, on training courses, of which he attends plenty, up to seven hours.

In preparation for the world championships he is incommunicado. Duisburg, his home town, lacks the facilities, so he is off to the national training centres where facilities and trainers are at his disposal.

He works four hours a day for the local authority sports department; his East bloc competitors are able to take it easy during the time he spends at work.

Rolf Milser, at 26, is not complaining. His sporting objective is sufficient motivation. Only once has he faltered. After the injury that put him out of the running in Montreal he spent a fortnight on his own wondering whether he ought not to retire.

Eventually he decided that there was still gold to be won, and if it was not to be Olympic gold at Montreal, then he would just have to postpone retirement. Since reaching this decision he has felt much happier and has resumed training.

The sauna may seem a strange place for an interview, but Milser finds he has time to think while sweating it out. "Weightlifting," he says, "is a split-second combination of power, concentration and technique."

In Stuttgart he will need to snatch between 165 and 165.5 kilograms (363-364lb) and jerk 22 kilograms (484lb) to be reasonably sure of world championship gold.

In the combination of the two he will need to lift between 380 and 380.5 kilograms (836-837lb) to win a further medal.

This, then, is his immediate objective. What about the Moscow Olympics? Milser is far from sure that he will still be a contender in three years' time.

"You can't afford to get out of the routine," he explains. "The moment an athlete discovers that life has more to offer than training he can to all intents and purposes be written off."

Rolf Milser has not, in his won opinion, seen too many of the good things of life. He has next to no spare time and has never drunk more than the odd pint of beer to quench his thirst.

In December he is off to East Africa for four weeks' holiday, well earned come what may. He will be one of a group of about thirty holidaymakers, including such well-known sporting names Uwe Seeler and Willi Holdorf.

Yet even his holidays from part of the training schedule in their way. Sunshine and salt water will help to rid him of the aches and pains that build up in the course of a long season. Milser is reluctant to paint a thumbnail sketch of himself in his own terms. "I am ambitious," he cautiously concedes. Of course he is. How else could he have endured the long years of training?

Self-discipline is another of his qualities, and he is certainly well aware of the discrepancy in opportunities available to weightlifters in East and West.

The dearth of training facilities in the West is not, as he sees it, the problem. In the West sport does not present the opportunity of social advancement it does in the East bloc.

What is more, he is worried lest young athletes in the West lose heart because of the lack of equal opportunities at the top in international contests.

Milser himself is not disheartened, of course. He may have toyed with the idea of calling it a day for a couple of weeks but he knows what he would like to accomplish as the crowning achievement of his sporting career.

As for earning a living, his future seems fairly secure. He is a fitter by trade, but will one day take over as warden of the canoe training centre at Wedau on the Rhine.

His only regret is that he did not keep up his first sporting love — soccer. He switched to weightlifting with a friend at the age of fifteen, but had already played football for Duisburg and the Lower Rhine region in his age group.

Rolf Milser

(Photo: dpa)

"I'd have been a good soccer player," Rolf Milser reckons, "and it would certainly have proved more lucrative."

Theo Schulte

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 August 1977)

Amateur athletes form their own 'trade union'

During the amateur athletics championships in Hamburg recently a group of fifty field and track competitors launched an athletes association that has been billed as a trade union.

Just imagine stars such as high jumper Carlo Thränhardt, hurdles specialist Ursulla Schallück, middle distance runners Harald Hudak and Michael Lederer, polevaulter Günther Lohre, 5,000-metres champion Karl Fleschen or hurdles ace Dieter Gebhardt boycotting, say, the national championship because the schedules are not to their liking!

It may seem an unlikely prospect as yet, but it is now within the realms of possibility.

The men and women behind the new pressure group claim that Leverkusen discus specialist Hein-Direk Neu and Mainz javelin ace Ameli Koloska, spokesman and woman for the national squad, are not doing a very good job.

Neu is reckoned to be only too happy to hand over the post to someone else, while Ameli Koloska would long since have done so if only she had been able to find anyone else to take her place.

What is more, they only represent members of the national athletics team and not the sum total of amateur athletes in the AAA.

"That is why we felt we had no alternative but to set up a separate organisation to represent our interests," says marathon runner Jochen Schirmer, who is one of the three committee members elected by the constituent meeting in Hamburg.

The other two are long-jumper Axel Salander and pole-vaulter Reinhard Kuretzky. Probably the best-known athlete on the full committee is Stuttgart polivaulter Günther Lohre.

The fifty founder-members certainly have an ambition that smacks of trade union organisation, although their association is still in its early days and statutes are still in the process of being drawn up.

Co-determination is their watchword. What they want is a say in the running of amateur athletics.

They want a say in the nomination of the national team, in the setting of qualifying times, weights and distances.

They want a say in the compilation of tournament timetables and the awarding of grants and other assistance.

They have yet to discuss what measures they envisage in the event of the athletes' equivalent of industrial disputes. "We are still busy getting started," Jochen Schirmer points out.

But to judge by the initial response from sports officialdom trouble lies in store. "We shall not be according the organisation recognition," says Professor August Kirsch, president of the Amateur Athletics Association. "As far as I am concerned," he adds, "it doesn't exist."

Horst Blattgerste, AAA sports secretary, feels much the same. "I see no need to set up any such organisation," he comments. "After all, we do have a spokesman and spokeswoman to represent the athletes' interests and outline their views."

The acting committee of the newly-formed association disagrees, adding that their "self-help" organisation cannot simply be dismissed as a splinter group or handful of malcontents.

Athletes who have announced their intention of joining include Carlo Thränhardt, Ursula Schallück, Ulrike Meyfarth, Harald Hudak, Michael Lederer, Karl Fleschen, Dieter Gebhardt, Rolf Buschs and Dieter Steinemann.

They are all "mature, intelligent athletes," as even Horst Blattgerste has to concede.

Wolfgang Hoesch

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 August 1977)